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ABSTRACT

This study describes significant issues and learnings identified by 26 school faculties engaged in site-based, faculty-led reform initiatives over a 5-year period during participation in the National Education Association's Mastery in Learning (MIL) Project. A representative sample of MIL sites is utilized to reframe issues and learnings into dilemmas. The paper explores: (1) the concept of dilemmas in educational decision making; (2) the background of MIL; (3) cross-project data (timelines, end-of-project interview transcripts, and transcripts of narratives); (4) six sites as exemplars in identifying faculty-led school restructuring; (5) each site's restructuring endeavors; (6) a categorized list of dilemmas derived from self-report data; and (7) utilization of a dilemma framework as a component of faculty development and collaboration. Included are tables listing frequency and "globalness" of issues such as percentage of disruptions, personal learnings, and advice for others and a figure describing dilemmas expressed by MIL participants. Dilemmas of Schooling (from Berlak & Berlak, 1981), a sample timeline, and an end-of-project interview protocol are appended. (LL)

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Restructuring Schools: New Tensions and Dilemmas for Teachers

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Restructuring Schools: New Tensions and Dilemmas for Teachers

> I was shocked that the same problems are everywhere!
>
> It's reassuring to know we're not the only ones who experienced these problems.
>
> It took a lot more time and effort than we dreamed, but it was worth it.
>
> I know MIL didn't want to tell us what to do, but it would have been better if they would have given us some guidelines so we wouldn't have spent so much time floundering.

These statements were made by participants at the close of the National Education Association's Mastery In Learning Project (MIL) in the spring of 1990. As MIL staff members, we were struck by the pervasive expression of doubts and uncertainties[1] which accompanied the incredible enthusiasm, dedication, and resourcefulness of the participants throughout the duration of this pioneer school restructuring effort. Despite varying contexts, agendas, and success in achieving their priorities, the 26 faculties encountered common tensions and dilemmas. Analysis of Project data leads us to hypothesize that faculties in more "successful" projects explicitly recognized, examined, and sought to "balance" or manage tensions and dilemmas.

In this paper we describe the significant issues and learnings identified by the 26 school faculties engaged in site-based, faulty-led reform initiatives over a five year period during their participation in the Mastery In Learning Project (MIL)

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[1]The Mastery In Learning Project Newsletter (and now, that of the NEA National Center for Innovation) was entitled "Doubts and Certainties," a title inspired by Sir Francis Bacon and suggested by an MIL teacher after the first year of the Project.

and, using a representative sample of MIL sites, reframe those issues and learnings into dilemmas. Questions which guided our analyses were:

1. What did participants perceive to be events, issues, and outcomes of importance during their project work, and which of these were perceived as disruptions?
2. What did participants believe they had learned during their project work that would be of importance to others?
3. What tensions and dilemmas were identified as significant issues by participants in the course of their project work?

We begin with a brief exploration of the concept of "dilemmas" in educational decision making and a description of MIL. In the second section, we summarize several analyses of cross-Project data to identify patterns in issues of importance, disruptions, learnings, and advice for others. Then we focus on six sites as exemplars to identify dilemmas in faculty-led school restructuring. We present a brief description of each site's restructuring endeavors and present a categorized list of dilemmas derived from their self-report data. Finally, we discuss the utilization of a dilemma framework as a component of faculty development and collaboration in site-based decision making.

Background

Dilemmas and Restructuring

The "second wave" of school reform calls for the transformation or "restructuring" of schooling to meet the needs brought about by rapidly-changing technologies, an altered world economy, and an increasingly multicultural and socioeconomically-varied student population. Foundational to this movement is the assumption that responsive schools can best be designed by those closest to the students (e.g., Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986; Goodlad,

1984). As teachers participate in site-based school restructuring they take on new roles and responsibilities. The process requires acquisition of new knowledge, a higher engagement in collaborative processes (e.g., committee work, consensus building, decision making, management, and communication) and larger roles in program development and evaluation. Similar changes in roles, attitudes, knowledge and skills are demanded of administrators, parents, students and others engaged in the processes of decision making for school change.

The past decade has witnessed tremendous progress in understanding processes of educational change and school improvement (e.g., Hord, Rutherford, Huling-Austin, & Hall, 1987; Joyce, Hersch, & McKibbin, 1983; Loucks-Horsley & Hergert, 1985). The vast majority of studies, however, treats educational changes which are planned, defined, and monitored centrally and which could be characterized (albeit simplistically) as top-down in approach. Our understanding of the multidimensional and simultaneous processes of site-based school transformation--and their meaning to various participants--is only now developing (Fullan, 1991). Until recently, most research in education has employed "objectivist" methodologies derived from the natural sciences and has failed to expose or investigate the paradoxes and tensions inherent in schools and school change (e.g., Cuban, 1991).

> We seldom examine these below the surface conflicts even though we cope with them continually in our work. . . . What many practitioners, policymakers and researchers call problems, I contend are really fundamental dilemmas. (Cuban, 1991, p. 6)

Cuban contrasts problems and dilemmas: In problems, conflict occurs because some desired goal is blocked; because problems are essentially routine, they respond to structured, technical problem solving. In contrast, the conflict arising from dilemmas occurs because the situation requires choices among problematic alternatives; no matter what the "decision," highly-prized values must be compromised. Situations and issues become predicaments or dilemmas rather than

problems "when constraints and uncertainty make it impossible for any prized value to triumph" (p. 6). Problems can be solved; dilemmas must be managed (Cuban, 1991; Lampert, 1985).

Researchers and theorists have begun to investigate "dilemmas" in education. Recent classroom research has documented the extent to which the everyday activities of teachers contain multiple and conflicting cultural, economic, political and ethical issues. Harold and Ann Berlak (1981) observed teachers and students in British primary school classrooms over a six month period. From their data, they constructed a theoretical framework for looking at schooling in the form of sixteen dilemmas. They also analyzed the teachers' patterns of dilemma resolution.

> Sometimes teachers' patterns of resolution appeared to be consciously chosen, deliberate efforts to put social and educational values into practice, though these choices were always qualified by situational constraints, some of which teachers recognized and discussed openly; at other times teachers' patterns seemed almost totally mindless, sheer habit, or formed by cultural and social experiences and forces, or by internal needs of which they were but dimly aware. (pp. 108-9)

They proposed that the dilemma framework serve as a language guiding teachers and others in collaborative, critical inquiries into the schooling process, to illuminate regularities and contradictions and stimulate alternative possibilities for action. The Berlaks' framework (outlined in Appendix A) is utilized in a number of teacher education programs designed to promote reflective teaching, including that at The Catholic University of America.

Magdeline Lampert (1985) was among the first to articulate the need for researchers and policy makers to rethink the commonplace images of teachers and their work. She proposed the image of teacher as dilemma manager. In this image, the a teacher accepts conflict and ambiguity as inevitable and learns to cope, improvise, and even benefit from it. Viewed as a dilemma manager, the teacher becomes a resource in managing the problems of educational practice.

Researchers, including the Berlaks, have suggested that examination of the dilemmas of schooling and their implications for practice should be part of teachers' professional development. Drawing upon the work of philosopher Martha Nussbaum, Nona Lyons (1990) analyzed the implications of teachers' knowledge and ethical values in their professional lives. She advocates a model of "nested knowing" in teacher and student change and development.

> Teacher change seems to involve a web of values and ideas, ways of knowing and interacting, and being in relationship with other knowers. . . . Teaching as an enterprise is likely to present teachers with practical ethical dilemmas. . . . prospective teachers ought to be alerted to these possibilities. (pp. 175-6)

Gunnel Colnerud (1991) examined teacher descriptions of situations in which they experienced ethical dilemmas (e.g., loyalty to pupils VS loyalty to colleagues) and discussed their implications for site-level decision making. He concluded that ethics in teaching differs from professional ethics in other professional contexts because the moral dimensions of teaching also involve internal values determined by the main tasks of the school system, some in contradiction to universal social values. He called for the development of explicit ethical codes at the site level to guide teacher decision and action.

There may be some ethical dilemmas which can be resolved through the professionalization of teaching, but consensus is not likely to occur easily or soon. Furthermore, as the Berlak and Berlak (1981) framework suggests, there appear to be enduring dilemmas that defy legislation. Engagement in collaborative decision making not only exposes the oft-times implicit dilemmas of individual classroom practice but exposes new tensions and dilemmas for teachers and others engaged in changing schools. Carl Glickman (1990) expressed some of the dilemmas of school change in terms of seven ironies of school improvement:

> 1. The more an empowered school improves, the more apparent it is that there is more to be improved.

2. The more an empowered school is recognized for its success, the more non-empowered schools criticize it.

3. The more an empowered school works collectively, the more individual differences and tensions among the staff members become obvious.

4. The more an empowered school becomes a model of success, the less the school becomes a practical model to be imitated by other schools.

5. The more a school becomes empowered, the more it hesitates to acct.

6. The more an empowered school has to gain, the more it has to lose.

7. The more an empowered school resembles a democracy, the more it must justify its own existence to the most vocal proponents of democracy.

He advised that empowered schools will have to learn to contend with dilemmas and contradictions and support one another as they navigate an uncertain course. But coping with dilemmas is neither easy nor efficient.

> We "satisfice" when we cope with dilemmas. That is, in order to satisfy, we must sacrifice. We invent a tightrope to walk, knowing that to cross the tightrope juggling the competing claims will still leave us uneasy. We negotiate the unappealing choices within dilemmas by tying opposites together in some fashion to cope with differences in values. Moreover, these good-enough bargains among values that we strike have to be renegotiated again and again because they are so deeply embedded in who we are and the practice of teaching, administration and research. Thus more often than not, we end up managing recurring dilemmas, not solving problems. (Cuban, 1991, p. 7)

Managing dilemmas is an essential and unending task in school restructuring. Those who would assist the process of school restructuring need to help educators and others involved in school change to learn to recognize, thoughtfully consider, and resolve or manage the dilemmas they encounter.

Mastery In Learning Project Description

The Mastery In Learning Project (MIL) was a school-based reform initiative designed to assist school faculties in taking an active role in directing school restructuring efforts (McClure, 1989). Although the local faculty designed their specific reform agenda, the MIL design specified the process through which restructuring occurs:

* Phase One: Profiling the School. A description of the school is created to serve as a benchmark for Project efforts. Multiple stakeholders participate in structured interviews.

* Phase Two: Inventorying the Faculty: Though a series of group and individual activities, the school faculty establishes initial priorities for restructuring. It begins the process of building the collaboration necessary for comprehensive, faculty-led renewal efforts.

* Phase Three: Empowering the Faculty toward Renewal. The faculty works to create the skills, attitudes, and knowledge necessary for sustained inquiry into the assumptions and practices that define their school. They develop a governance structure, and use the knowledge base to explore options and design restructuring initiatives. They use a computer network to connect with faculties in other MIL sites and with educational researchers.

* Phase Four: Cultivating Comprehensive Change. Having developed a clearer sense of the nature of learning, teaching, curriculum, and school culture; and having developed skills and habits of collaboration; the faculty moves from fragmented activities to comprehensive change.

Another way to conceptualize the MIL process is moving from teacher development to student empowerment (McClure, 1991). The first phase involves teachers in individual affirmation--acknowledging to themselves and others that they are important professionals who can make a difference. From this, a sense of facultyness emerges. Educators begin to believe that their schools can improve, and that they as a faculty are responsible. They look to research for options, and begin taking risks. A culture conducive to change is born. Then, the faculty begins to seriously challenge the regularities affecting students in classrooms and within the structure of the school.

The Mastery In Learning Project included 26 demographically representative schools that worked together for four years (five years for 5 pilot schools). Most of the schools have remained on the computer network after the "official" Mastery In Learning Project culminated in 1990.

Method

Data Sources

The primary sources of data for this analysis were Project timelines, end-of-Project interview transcripts, and transcripts of narratives. These three data sources comprised the final Project-wide documentation effort at the conclusion of the Mastery In Learning Project.

Timelines. Each school was asked to develop a timeline that traced the history of their Project. Timeline instructions asked participants to include: significant antecedents, project information (such as events, activities, issues, changes, foci, etc.), school context information (such as district or community events or influences), items of significant impact (indicated by a plus, minus, or directional arrow), and momentum (indicated by a line graphing its flow). Particpants at MIL's final conference assembled and shared their schools' timelines. Of the 26 original MIL schools, 22 completed a timeline. (Appendix B contains a reproduction of a page from one of the timelines.)

Interviews. End-of-Project interviews were conducted by telephone. Each site was provided with an advanced copy of the interview protocol (Appendix C), and the faculty was asked to identify five interviewees to represent a spectrum of perspectives according to the following guidelines: the principal or a site administrator, a current Project leader, a former leader, a long-time participant, and a non-participant (or less active participant). Interview questions were open-

ended and asked interviewees to reflect on the accuracy of the timeline and discuss Project impact, institutionalization of change efforts, learnings and/or advice for others engaged in similar efforts, leadership and decision making, level of involvement, and use of the knowledge base. Interviewers recorded detailed notes and verbatim statements. Of the 26 sites, 15 provided 5 interviews (one school added a sixth), 7 sites provided 4 interviews, 2 sites provided 3 interviews, 1 site offered 2 interviews, and 1 permitted only 1 interview. The sites with only 1 and 2 interviews, respectively, had voted to withdraw from the Project before its final year and probably felt little commitment to participate in this data collection effort, despite frequent efforts by the interviewer. Twenty-three principals and one central administrator (who had served as site consultant) participated.

Narratives. The faculty members at each Project school were asked to think of "stories" that represented significant issues, events, or series of events that would be informational or inspirational to others engaged in school restructuring. The participants at the final MIL conference formed small groups according to similar themes, related their stories and, afterward, engaged in discussion of common issues and understandings. The narratives and group discussions were tape recorded and transcribed.

Secondary sources. The use of secondary data sources added detail, and confirming or disconfirming evidence. These sources came from the Project documentation files for each school and included reports, phone notes, artifacts, and Faculty Inventory data from the four sites in which it was readministered during the fourth year.

Analyses

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Issues and Disruptions

The timelines and interview questions 1 and 2 (discussion of the timeliness and impact of the Project) were used to indicate chronological reoccurrences of Issues of Importance and Disruptions across sites during the Project. Categories for Issues of Importance were derived from a sample of the timelines. Then, for all of the timelines, each instance listed was coded according to the derived categories, and was coded as Constructive or Disruptive. The interview questions were divided into coded segments, and the category and constructive/destructive nature of the instance were recorded. Instances were tallied by school and by category across schools.

Learnings and Advice

End-of-project interview question 4 asked participants to comment about their learnings as a faculty which could be of importance to other professionals; question 5 asked them to discuss learnings about themselves, personally. Initial readings of the interview transcripts revealed that participants often referred to learnings and provided advice within their responses to questions one and two. Thus, relevant segments from these transcripts were included in the analysis of questions 4 and 5.

Systematic content analysis was conducted using a process of analytic induction adapted from ethnographic methodologies (e.g., Spradley, 1979). Initial categories were identified and defined to reflect the manner in which participants thought about or "labeled" their experiences (consequently they were numerous and rather fine-grained). Each data set was coded according to these initial categories and tallies were created for total participant response, site, and administrator response. Further readings of the interview data utilizing code sorts enabled the recoding of data by more global categories. Again, tallies were created under the three categories.

Dilemmas

Six schools were selected for further analysis to identify tensions and dilemmas and to illustrate patterns of resolution and non-resolution. The schools were selected through a two-step process. First the schools were rated by the four MIL staff on five dichotomous items: moving/nonmoving, reflective/nonreflective, high/low involvement, significant/insignificant changes for students, significant/insignificant changes in teacher development, and successful/unsuccessful patterns of resolution. The schools were rank-ordered based on their composite score. Six schools were then selected, based on their position on the scale (high, medium, low), level (elementary, middle/junior high, and high school), and illustrative patterns in the data.

School descriptions. Project timelines and documentation data from Project files were used to construct brief descriptions of each site to highlight the nature of their school restructuring experiences. These descriptions[2] provide the reader context for the dilemma analysis and discussion.

Dilemma analysis. We developed two data reduction forms--one for areas of focus and one for critical incidents. Each was headed as follows: area-of-focus/critical-incident, data sources, issues/tensions identified, dilemmas-explicit, dilemmas-embedded, and insights/questions. One researcher analyzed the end-of-project interviews and narratives and the other analyzed the timelines and Project documentation.

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[2]Because some participants expressed reluctance to participate in interviews and narratives unless their identities were shielded, we have chosen to assign pseudonyms for school names. To us, this poses a dilemma. We believe that to achieve and maintain excellence, schools must become publicly reflective; however, we understand the real constraints and risks faced by schools in today's educational environment.

Initially, in our first passes through the data, we had attempted to distinguish between explicit and embedded dilemmas. We tentatively defined explicit dilemmas as those in which the participants identified or discussed explicitly both sides or poles of the dilemma. We found that such "weighing" was prominent in only a small number of cases. In most cases, across all the schools analyzed, participants identified and discussed a tension or issue. Although they didn't explicitly weigh the poles of the dilemma, the sides of the dilemma were implied in their discussion. Consequently, we revised our definition of explicit dilemma to include this latter aspect and deleted the category of embedded dilemmas.

We began our analysis by independently reducing data for one school. We met and reconstructed our process for each other, clarifying decisions and definitions. We repeated this process for three other sites and developed a preliminary compilation and classification of dilemmas. We consulted one another throughout the remainder of our dilemma coding to fine tune our classifications. In this paper, we report the dilemmas discussed by the six focal sites.

Results

Issues and Disruptions

One way of beginning to understand the tensions and dilemmas schools face while restructuring is to look at the issues of importance as reported by the participants and to note those described as problematic or disruptive to progress.

Issues of importance. The identified issues are presented in Table 1. Frequency of Mention refers to the number of times the issue was mentioned across schools. This count gives an indication of the importance of the issue over time and across schools. The participants mentioned instructional issues affecting classrooms and schools more than any other issue. Of the top four categories, three are directly related to school program. Issues affecting instruction, curriculum,

and teaching were paramount in these schools. This pattern challenges the common complaint that school-based change is about teachers "feeling good" and does not affect students and schools. The three most frequently-coded issues which related to the process of changing schools were Isolation/Collaboration, the Emotional Cycle of Change, and Decisionmaking Structures and Processes. These results are not surprising, since site-based restructuring requires the development of collaborative decision making. The high frequency of Emotional Cycle of Change issues indicates a very large number of "ups and downs" as experienced by the participants.

Globalness on Table 1 indicates the number of schools that mentioned the issue. Stated differently, it indicates the extent to which the issues were experienced by all of the schools. Seven of the issues were mentioned by all of the schools. All but two of the issues were mentioned by over half of the schools. Overall, there was significant commonality across sites with respect to issues of importance.

Disruptions. While Frequency of Mention denotes issues of importance, it does not indicate the nature of the issues as they were raised in the schools. Therefore, we recorded the number of times each issue was reported as disruptive and tallied the results. The frequencies are reported in Table 2. Most interesting are the percentages, because they indicate the extent to which particular issues disrupted the change process. Staff continuity/discontinuity was reported as disruptive 54% of the times it was mentioned in these data. This generally referred to problems created when faculty leaders left and no new leader emerged, when a supportive principal left and a non-supportive principal began, when a Project Consultant left or was asked to leave, and the time and difficulty involved in acculturating new personnel to the nature and processes of the school's restructuring work. A group of issues were reported as disruptive about 1/3 of the time: (a) Principal

Role/Control (disruptions involving authority, control, and lack of support); (b) Pace and Amount of Change (tensions encountered when deciding how fast to proceed, how much to tackle at once, and how to cope with "stalls" or times when pace seemed to falter); (c) Time (dominated by lack of time for collaboration); (d) Internal/External Control (issues centered around the effects of central office or state regulations and mandates); and (e) the Emotional Cycle of Change (the ups and downs, highs and lows, disillusionment and burn-out experienced by the faculties). These six issues appeared to be the most problematic for faculties in MIL. We were surprised that issues like Collaboration and Decisionmaking Structures and Processes were not higher, because they were issues that figured prominently in faculties' attentions and requests for information and assistance over the course of the Project. Perhaps they are issues that faculties can resolve more successfully, if not more easily and thus were not perceived as disruptive. (The analysis of learnings and advice corroborates this conjecture.)

Issues disruptive in one site were not necessarily disruptive in another. For example, in two schools, lack of funding presented a disruption so serious that the Project was not continued. In other schools money was an issue, a problem, a tension, a dilemma, but it was resolved in a manner that maintained the Project's forward progress (often with slightly modified goals). Thus, although the issues were much the same, the patterns of resolution varied by school. Deeper investigation of these data sources and other school change data to elucidate patterns of resolution is an important next step.

Learnings and Advice

The results described above captured the full scope of memorable issues and events. We were interested in the participants' interpretation of those issues and

events, particularly as they perceived their own learnings and the advice they might provide others with "20-20 hindsight."

Learnings about self. When asked what they had learned about themselves, 35 (29%) of the respondents prefaced their responses with the statement that they had developed professionally; 30 (27%) offered that they had changed personally; and 37 (33%) noted that they had obtained personal reward from participation in MIL. Responses to the question varied broadly (describing both learnings about themselves and personal learnings), but there were some commonalities. These are summarized in Table 3.

Personal learnings pertaining to process issues clustered in the areas of learning to work collaboratively, learning new roles, participating in shared decision making, handling disagreement and conflict, and understanding the change process. Predictably, the respondents who were Project leaders mentioned teacher leadership as a significant learning. Administrators identified having to adapting their role for collaborative school restructuring and shared decision making as requiring or providing significant personal change. Developing the requisite attitudes for collaborative change (openness, risk-taking, empathy, etc.) and learning to use and value the knowledge base of teaching were also cited as major learnings. The most frequently mentioned personal development or insight was in the area of personal efficacy--the sense of empowerment that "I can make a difference," or "I realize that I have important ideas to share," and "I have strengths I never realized I had." It is a sad commentary on the status our nation affords to its teachers when embedded in many of these wonderful expressions of personal empowerment were variants of the statement, "Now I know I'm not just a teacher."

Learnings/advice for others. Although process issues such as collaboration and communication did not appear prominently in the analysis of Issues of

Importance, they were key themes in the Learnings and Advice offered by participants in MIL. Table 4 summarizes the categories of learnings/advice with highest frequency of mention. The following section describes in more detail the advice[3] offered for others engaged in school restructuring.

Fully 83% of interviewees representing all 26 sites discussed issues of collaboration and communication. These included the importance of developing processes and procedures for faculty communication and collaboration, promoting buy-in and involvement, and building cohesion.

> Cooperation and communication are the foundation . . . listen to one another and come to a decision together.
>
> The most important thing is to communicate--teacher to teacher, teacher to administrator, all of these to community, and across grade levels, and not excluding support staff of all kinds. They must allow time for the process to develop and for people to become comfortable.
>
> Don't get discouraged if only a small group is active in the beginning . . . they will grow in numbers.

Each site also contributed advice about leadership and responsibility, such as the importance of developing and accepting faculty leadership, sharing leadership between teachers and administrators (and sometimes parents and students), negotiating new roles, reordering old relationships built on positional power and authority, and accepting responsibility.

> If faculty is going to make decisions, they have to accept the responsibility of doing the work . . . accept accountability for decisions.

Teacher leadership was a focus of much personal learning:

> I want more changes than most people. I'm too idealistic! They are not risk-takers. I'm not good at getting others involved--I plug the holes. You need enthusiastic leaders. And good organizers. I'm not the latter.

Administrators reflected on their personal learnings:

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[3]Quotations from statements about personal learnings have been included where they add particular insights.

> As an administrator, I learned that unilateral decisions are not my way . . . It was painful, but it is positive. In the back of my mind, I am still responsible. Thank goodness they [the faculty] are research-oriented.

A closely-related set of advice pertained to the development of decision making skills and processes for shared decision making. Almost half of the interviewees described issues pertaining to disagreement and conflict: the need to value and utilize disagreement and multiple perspectives (rather than avoid or ignore them), and the need to learn new skills to manage tensions and resolve conflict.

> Faculties need ongoing leadership training--training in conflict resolution is very important. Consensus is the best way to make decisions, but that does not mean you won't disagree. But you need to know how to work through and with disagreement. . . It is not a failure if you don't get 100% agreement--you won't get that. Things can get stormy, but you'll be OK.

Many sessions at yearly MIL conferences were devoted to understanding the change process, and the importance of this understanding was reiterated by those interviewed.

A large percentage of faculty members at virtually all sites discussed the importance of finding their voices and developing a sense of efficacy to initiate, take risks, and persist in the face of obstacles. This was discussed both as a prerequisite to the change process and as an outcome of their collaborative work. The one phrase (or paraphrase) most frequent heard in the responses to the question of advice was, "It won't be easy!" Interviewees advised others to expect to exert considerable effort and to experience difficulties and "ups and downs." Interestingly, though, in more cases than not, this warning was accompanied by an efficacy response such as ". . . but it can be done and it's worth it."

> Change is real possible. Real communication makes a whole lot possible--being involved in decision making together. There is a sense of pride knowing that students and staff did things together.

A majority of respondents at nearly all sites discussed the need to develop attitudes to support change and development such as openness, risk-taking, acceptance of others, patience, empathy, and willingness to compromise. This category was cited by teachers as a major area of professional and personal growth. Although teachers have operated within limited spheres of decision making authority, as isolated classroom professionals they have made many decisions in unitary fashion. Collaboration around significant school-wide decisions requires new attitudes and skills for many teachers. Significantly, a number of teachers remarked that these personal changes have led to changed relationships and learning experiences with students in their classrooms. One of the MIL principals corroborated this:

> My staff has a better understanding of my job and what I do day to day. . . . My tolerance has been increased. . . . This project has done more for faculty relationships and spills over into kids and other adults.

Finally, a foundational principle of MIL was the importance of knowledge-based deliberation and informed decision making. Respondents from nearly all sites advised others to internalize this principle and to develop skills and opportunities to involve faculties in the utilization of and contribution to the knowledge base. Other common pieces of advice included the management of the change process--the need for a guiding vision balanced by a workable scope and pace.

Our analyses revealed the pervasiveness of challenges and tensions. And numerous faculty members--in our personal contacts with them and in their interviews--explicitly used the terms "tensions" and "dilemmas." Thus we decided to investigate further the notion of dilemmas in school restructuring. Informed, reflective, deliberative decision making is foundational to the MIL philosophy (see, for example, Livingston & Castle, 1989). Is there some regularity to the tensions and dilemmas that MIL faculties faced? And if so, might the making specific of

these dilemmas enable more thoughtful, perhaps less anxiety -ridden discussion and reflection during the process of change? Obviously, this retrospective analysis cannot answer the second question, but we decided to explore the question of regularities in dilemmas reported.

Before we present our analysis of dilemmas from the six focal schools, we present brief descriptions of each site to contextualize the analysis and illustrate tensions, dilemmas, and patterns of resolution or non-resolution in the six schools.

Description of the Six Focal Sites

Apple Tree. Apple Tree Elementary is a K - 6 school in a small, working class town in the western United States.

The faculty (the term "faculty" definitely included the principal) focused their improvement agenda on an "umbrella" concept: The School as a Center for Democracy. In operation, this focus included cooperative learning, students as conflict managers, and democracy and discipline. Teachers worked with a neighboring university to devise a for-credit course investigating democracy and discipline from theoretical and practical perspectives. From their studies, they created their own consistent approach. They also reorganized the daily schedule to create common grade-level planning time.

The Apple Tree faculty dealt effectively and openly with issues of shared leadership and used processes for effective meetings, including a rotating chair. They created and agreed on a Statement of Site-based Decision Making that guided their work and also wrote a statement of the Rights of Students. A "test" of principal support of shared decision making came when he recommended a CMI program and the faculty voted it down; although he retained veto power, he accepted their decision. Their most-reported disruption occurred when the district discontinued funding for released time; then time became a critical issue. With time and money

gone, morale dipped; changes in scheduling at the district level made the common planning schedule unworkable; and communication decreased. They reorganized the committees and Project work slowed, although it did not stop.

In general, the school focused on students and "democracy" in very concrete ways, while at the same time, attending to structures and processes. Because of strong teacher leadership, a supportive and involved principal, concrete initiatives, and high involvement, they resolved issues productively. The biggest disruption came in loss of money for release time. Their resolution was to cut back on their work.

Most frequently mentioned issues: Climate for Students (28); Collaboration (25); Decision Making Structures and Processes (17). Highest disruptions: Time (described as disruptive 60% of the times it was mentioned); Decision Making Structures and Processes (18%).

Longlake. Longlake is a small, mostly African-American junior high school in one of the poorest rural counties in the southeastern United States.

During their first year of MIL, they set priorities relating to reading across content areas and increasing parent involvement. Committees met and teachers began getting involved, although MIL received a lot of criticism from the conservative local media. Early in their work, the faculty suffered a significant set-back due to problems between a committee chair and others in the school; work on other committees slowed or halted. The faculty held a meeting that was cathartic in some ways, yet major resolutions were not obtained and the principal decided to discontinue the committee. Morale then improved, and they ended the year feeling good about their new programs for students.

In their second year, differences in perspective surfaced among faculty leaders and with the principal. In particular, the Steering Committee Chair and the

principal held different views regarding the appropriate focus for teachers' deliberation and activities--the classroom VS the school at large. To the principal, MIL was about classroom empowerment, not empowering teacher leadership on school-wide issues. The principal perceived MIL as challenging his authority. Power struggles developed between teachers, as well, and the faculty became deeply divided, yet unwilling to speak openly about their conflicts and dilemmas. Comments such as, "We are not making progress," "This has all been done before," and "Restructuring is just a fad," became commonplace. The faculty voted almost unanimously to end the Project.

As members of the Longlake faculty became more professionally aware and informed about knowledge-based options, the old social ties became inadequate to maintain effective communication, and the principal became increasingly threatened. It appears that the faculty was proud of some programs they had begun, particularly for at-risk kids, but they could not resolve issues of teacher leadership, principal control, and the locus for empowerment. Many of the teachers at Longlake desperately wanted back the sense of social camaraderie they had enjoyed before MIL, and return to old ways became their pattern of resolution.

Most frequently mentioned issues: Voice/Empowerment (6); Collaboration (5); Principal Control (5). Most disruptive issues: Principal Control (100%); Collaboration (80%); Voice/Empowerment (67%). Clearly, the issues of empowerment, control, and collaboration were highly disruptive and unresolvable.

Edgar. Edgar is a large urban high school in the Northwest, serving a multiethnic, multi-lingual, middle and low SES student population.

During MIL, Edgar had a very student-oriented focus. They became the International/Bilingual magnet for their city, and they worked to make the most of their diversity. For example, they developed and implemented a team teaching

Humanities block and had international theme days and weeks (such as games around the world).

The Edgar faculty's problems occurred around principal control and decision making structures and processes. The original (and supportive) MIL principal left (or was transferred) and the new principal voiced support for shared decision making, as long as it was clear that a one-to-one correspondence did not exist between the principal's vote and the teacher's vote. For example, at one point the faculty voted to have a learning styles workshop on a release day, but the principal brought in something else without consultation or explanation. The principal and teachers have not been able to resolve the issue, although they have discussed it often.

The school continues to wrestle with dilemmas regarding its decision making structures. One year the faculty disbanded all committees and "started over." The next year they combined the MIL Steering Committee with the Instructional Council (department chairs). This structure continues, but unresolved issues include uneven compensation for faculty leadership, small number of involved faculty, principal control, and lack of leadership. The integration of MIL has not been smooth. The fact that these issues go unresolved means that they "travel" the same territory again and again, making it difficult to attract and sustain involvement or to focus on program-related initiatives. To their credit, they keep working at it. While they have made some good changes for students with which they are pleased, the time spent on processes rather than substance, and lack of broad-based faculty involvement has limited the effects of their efforts.

Most frequently mentioned issues: Curriculum (40), Instruction (34), Climate for Students (30), Collaboration (30), and Decision Making Structures and Processes

(29). The most disruptive issues were: Administration (45%), and Decision Making Processes and Structures (17%).

Bloomer. Situated in a bright and colorful building in the same city as Edgar, Bloomer Elementary serves a K-5 urban, multiethnic, multilingual, low SES student population.

Bloomer has a history of strong advocacy and parent involvement. The staff is motivated, high-energy, and student-oriented. Impatient to change, they are prone to periods of frustration ("We're not accomplishing anything") or burnout, or they have so much going on they can't keep track of it. Some are impatient with the time required for collaboration. The pace and scope of change are recurring issues for them. Their initiatives have included cooperative learning, whole language, technology, student assessment, detracking, parent involvement, a business partnership, Pacific Rim curriculum development, an arts program, a cultural exchange, and more. They restructured the school day to enable common planning time and sustained silent reading. Some of these initiatives involve individual faculty members while others involve the whole faculty, and finding the appropriate balance for involvement is a very real and continuing dilemma for them. They are currently united as a faculty around the goal of reducing disproportionality between minority and nonminority students.

They developed a clear decision making structure which includes parents on the steering committee. Control problems are primarily with the highly politicized district. The district central office and "zones" were reorganized twice during MIL, and Bloomer was changed from K-6 to K-5 after the district decided to create middle schools (without any local input). On several occasions the district office failed to follow-through on items such as early release, thus disrupting site plans.

Bloomer has also experienced personnel discontinuity. The original chair took a leave and then moved. This was disruptive at the time, but it was ultimately helpful because they discussed the issues around leadership extensively and resolved their "problem" by creating a rotating chair/chair-elect system, becoming quite cognizant of the dilemmas inherent in continuity VS rotating leadership. Discontinuity also occurred when one principal left. Again, this was disruptive initially, but the new principal was chosen for her belief in shared decision making, and she has been true to that. Head Teachers have changed several times, also. Despite all these changes, the regular teaching staff has been extremely stable.

In general, Bloomer has reacted to dilemmas and disruptions by discussing them, individually and collectively, and taking action to resolve or manage them. Their common concern for increasing student learning within their diverse population holds them together, but they still experience ups and downs.

Most frequently mentioned issues: Curriculum (43); Instruction (32); Internal/External Control (30), and Emotional Cycle of Change (28). Highest disruptions: Pace and Amount of Change (67%); Staff Continuity (50%); and Internal/External Control (23%).

Skyler. Skyler is a 600-student, K-6, suburban elementary school in the southwest. Their focus areas included mathematics for gray-area students (those not eligible for special help who often "fall between the cracks"), curriculum articulation, and the literature approach to reading and language.

The Articulation Committee's first recommendations met with hostility, and the committee finally became the Communication Committee. The faculty developed a commitment to research, conducting their own study of "gray-area" math, creating a professional library, and making use of the MIL documentation process. During the

course of their MIL work a serious dilemma arose between whole language and phonics supporters, as teachers and parents took sides. Whole language practices have developed among many faculty; and, as a group, they have agreed on a compromise position, choosing a literature-based basal series last year.

Discontinuity has been a major problem with three different principals, changes in central administration, and the division of Skyler (students and faculty) into two schools because of overcrowding. Changes in teacher leadership occurred frequently also. Through it all, they have worked to increase collegiality and responsibility beyond the school. They established gatherings beyond their own school for informal research-sharing and discussion and made numerous presentations, particularly at the state level.

Control issues between teachers and principals arose often; there, the patterns of resolution were not particularly successful, undoubtedly exacerbated by principal turnover. Discontinuity, control issues, and sincere philosophical differences in language arts created a very "up-and-down" Project. Yet they have managed, slowly, to reach some common ground on curriculum and instruction, and to reach out beyond themselves.

Most frequently mentioned issues: Instruction (33), Local/State/National Responsibility (24), Emotional Cycle of Change (24), and Curriculum (23). Highest disruptions: Principal Control (69%), Staff Discontinuity (57%), and Emotional Cycle (25%).

Watertown. Watertown Junior High is a moderate-sized school located in a small town in the coastal Northeast. The student population is largely white and middle to lower-middle-class. Watertown has a highly supportive central administration which has developed district initiatives in a progressive direction, allowing much site autonomy.

The Watertown faculty's initiatives were among the most process-dominated of the MIL schools. They attended to processes and structures for decision making and collaboration and worked to develop and sustain a full-faculty consensus decision making process. They encountered several periods of great difficulty, but they worked out their problems. Using their established processes and taking whatever time was necessary to resolve substantive and personal issues, they sought to arrive at genuine consensus and proceed as a united faculty.

Although many of their Project initiatives were process-oriented, they tackled student-focused issues such as cooperative learning, homogeneous grouping, and scheduling with considerable attention to core equity issues. They were able to pose and discuss reflective and self-critical questions such as, "We want to change, but are we afraid of the responsibility?"

In the final year of the MIL Project, lack of continuity, particularly with a new principal, and changes in teacher leadership proved to be highly disruptive. Tensions continue; the principal, who has not fully embraced the faculty's processes and structures, feels an administrative responsibility to move the school more rapidly toward effective middle school practices.

Most often mentioned issues: Instruction (28); Collaboration (24); Decision making structures and processes (18). Highest disruptions: Emotional Cycle of Change (50%); Staff Continuity/Discontinuity (50%); Principal Control (38%); and Collaboration (21%).

Dilemmas Across the Six Focal Sites

> There is never enough time for the hard work of planning, goal setting, the nitty-gritty work of making changes. . . . Sometimes there are real different styles; some detest process stuff. Then anger can goof up the process. You can also get mired in process and never do anything--Dilemmas and continuing tensions! (Bloomer principal)

Faculties across the project were faced with new arenas for decision making and action as they took initiative for improving their school. We report the dilemmas in functional categories (as they were identified) and note significant patterns in the way they were discussed.

All six sites described dilemmas pertaining to nature of change, focus of change, shared decision making, influences (barriers and supports for change), conflict and disruption, teacher role, teacher leadership, principal role, and evaluation. Administrators in all six sites discussed dilemmas around their changed roles and relationships. All but Longlake discussed dilemmas encountered in exercising new forms of teacher leadership; Longlake had not been able to resolve the impasse created between principal and teachers (particularly the steering committee chair) over the locus of teacher leadership--classroom versus classroom and beyond. Three sites--Bloomer, Skyler, and Watertown--identified dilemmas pertaining to knowledge and expertise. Figure 1 lists the dilemmas perceived by the participants in the six focal sites.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The dilemmas listed in Figure 1 are many in number and highly over-lapping, yet each conveys a unique set of tensions. Indeed, it is this overlapping that made them so problematic for practitioners. For example, many participants discussed their quandary around the pace of change and authority in decision making: efficient and timely change often demanded the exercise of authority or narrow participation in the decision making process. One faculty member explained that when they began their restructuring work, they set up numerous committees and initiatives to accommodate a broad range of interests and passions, and thus they

achieved broad buy-in and participation; however, they began to feel over-extended and feared fragmentation and burnout. On the other hand, when they later defined a clear direction and focus, some faculty perceived a loss of autonomy and felt disenfranchised by the process.

The use of a dilemma language requires recognition of the problematic and willingness to "expose" and examine it.

> What we're really about is building communities of people who work together and part of that involves sharing . . . our humanity and being vulnerable with each other. (Watertown teacher)

In our sample, those faculties least able to name and deal with dilemmas in a productive (as opposed to destructive) fashion, were the least successful. Participants from more successful schools recognized "hidden" dilemmas and contradictions in schools' customary practices.

> [When you have new faculty members] you've got to accept the fact that you are recreating a new faculty. You're not absorbing the new members into an existing faculty. . . . It's not like a fraternity. No initiation rites. Everyone starts in diapers. (Watertown teacher)

> Democratic classrooms [require the] same [principles and procedures] as site-based decision making. . . teachers need classes on it. . . . The United States is a democracy, but we run the institutions of schools like a dictatorship. (Apple Tree teacher)

They displayed widespread recognition of the complexity of issues, inherent ambiguities, and futility of blaming or simple linear solutions. They not only discussed tensions and dilemmas, but frequently weighed the issues and consequences.

> I would say don't have the goal of avoiding conflict. I think of the Chinese symbol for "danger" and "opportunity" as being the same symbol, and we might translate it as "conflict." All conflict isn't necessarily good, but out of conflict can come good. You go through a period of chaos and come out the other side at a higher level. (Watertown teacher)

> [re too much decision making by principal, leadership team, and committee chairs:] The tension is to get it done versus letting everyone know and be involved. You have to keep attending to it, standing up to [complaints] . . . accept never reaching 100%. . . . Learn to hold things in tension, work for the balance. (Bloomer teacher)

> We have jumpers and observers, each frustrated with the other. But when we pull together on a kid-centered issues, there's energy. (Bloomer teacher)
>
> How do we go about finding a principal [if ours leaves]? . . . You really have to redefine what a principal is . . . . It's a real gut reaction at this point. It creates a problem--not turf so much as division of labor. (Watertown teacher)

The learnings and advice offered by the participants in this investigation included the need for faculties to learn to risk, to weigh options, to look at multiple perspectives, to tolerate ambiguity, to avoid simple solutions, and to recognize "no change is as easy as it looks." Could a dilemma framework, accompanied by strategies for engaging faculty and others in discussion about the complexities and tensions of schooling, assist with the development of these attitudes and practices and thus enhance the likelihood of significant and positive change?

Discussion

A Dilemma Framework for School Restructuring

As we thought about the experiences of the individual schools and the common dilemmas, it became apparent that there are a number of themes that cut across the warp of these functional categories; among them:

* individual versus collective (teacher VS faculty member, students as unique individuals VS students as a group, individual schools VS schools as part of systems)
* internal versus external control (resources; expertise; decision making spheres, locus, structures; evaluation)
* continuity versus discontinuity (personnel, programs, student experience across classrooms and the curriculum)
* power versus empowerment (issues of authority, formal roles, leadership)
* goal clarity versus surface unity (one easily glossed over in top-down structures--e.g., the teacher representative on curriculum revisions, parent representative on school site council)

* molecular versus holistic views of knowledge, decision making, schooling
* efficiency versus substance
* inclusion versus exclusion (participation, consensus VS majority or authority

Many of the dilemmas "map" onto or parallel dilemma categories identified by Berlak and Berlak (1981) and listed in Appendix A. For example, those contrasting internal and external control positions parallels the Control Set (numbers 2-4); and there are parallels between the molecular versus holistic group and the Berlaks' knowledge and learning dilemmas (numbers 6-8). However, such parallels (as well as our themes) would undoubtedly appear to be intellectual exercises to the harried practitioner. The categories are too abstract for easy recognition in the daily contexts of decision making and "problem solving."

Many of the dilemmas experienced by the faculties in our study cannot be meaningfully collapsed into the Berlak and Berlak categories. This may be explainable by the fact that some of the dilemmas are in reality "tensions" which may someday be resolvable in truly restructured schools. A number of research programs are looking at the effects of new structures on resolving the seemingly intractable problems of today's schools (Elmore, 1991; Lieberman, Darling-Hammond, & Zuckerman, 1991). Some dilemmas may be a product of the "time warp" between old ideas and practices and new ones. Some are the result of differing perspectives among participants. Many, particularly those focusing on curriculum and assessment, result from the clash between educational "world views" represented by behaviorism and cognitive science (Shepard, 1991). Still others are representative of truly insoluble tensions behind the purposes of schools and the moral and ethical tradeoffs that come when individual values must be brought together into collective practices and institutions. Regardless of these distinctions, the issues <u>were</u> dilemmas to the practitioners situated in the immediacy of educational practice.

Although we find the Berlak and Berlak (1991) framework insufficient for our purposes, we wholeheartedly concur with the Berlaks' goal for their dilemmas framework:

> It is our hope that the dilemma language will be useful in clarifying for professionals and the public some of the debates over schooling practices and their relationship to the major political and economic questions of the day, and for helping to identify alternative possibilities for making schooling a richer, more engaging, and challenging intellectual, cultural, and social experience for all students. (p. 4)

Among the next steps in this line of research should be the attempt to categorize and test a truly functional framework of dilemmas for reflection by participants in school change.

Why Bother?

Many of the dilemmas identified by the MIL participants reflect the deep (though commonly ignored) social, political, and ethical issues embedded in the fabric our everyday schooling. These issues lead toward fundamental questions of value and purpose. What should schools try to accomplish? Whose interests are being served? And yet, as the Apple Tree faculty made explicit, at a deeper level they drive at issues at the heart of our form of democracy--some of the same issues being contemplated by those concerned about the American malaise toward their system of government and politics.

It might be argued that the dilemmas which we have identified are unique to this "teacher project" and, as such, may not be applicable to other restructuring projects in which faculties are not the "instigators." We would argue, however that research on factors necessary for systemic change (e.g., Fullan, 1991) emphasizes the centrality of teacher involvement and buy-in. There is a current and widespread realization that schools must involve their stakeholders (i.e., students, parents, community, and local business) in the information loop and/or decision making

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processes. Their participation raises similar issues of inclusion, authority, voice, pace, complexity, diversity, and more.

Those involved in education policy and decision making at more authoritative levels (e.g., central offices, boards, state departments of education) may look at the list and regard it as unnecessarily involving practitioners in decisions that policy takes us "beyond." There is a certain truth to the rationale that everyone has limited cognitive capacity for simultaneous decision making and that, for the sake of students, practitioners should devote their finite mental energies to tasks and issues immediately affecting learning. (The principal at Longlake, as well as a small core of concerned teachers from other Project schools, argued this passionately.) On the other hand, much has been written (from political polemics to empirical reports and critical socio-ethical analyses) to indicate the need to restructure our educational system. It is difficult, in the busy day-to-day world of economic and temporal realities for high-level educational decision makers to deconstruct decades of decision making based on rationales of efficiency and effectiveness conceptualized in industrial-production metaphors.

> If site-based decision making is going to work it required the least amount of rules and regulations in teacher contracts and board policy. Regulation puts the kiss of death on it. . . . No flexibility, no choices. (Bloomer principal)

Furthermore, the change literature is clear about the fact that change will not occur at the school level unless those at the school level view problems and possibilities in a new light and "own" the change agenda. Ah! More dilemmas!

Concluding Thoughts

> Those who will begin with certainties shall end in doubts; but those content to begin with doubts shall end in certainties. (adapted from Sir francis Bacon, "The Advancement of Learning")

We believe that the development of a dilemma framework for school restructuring is a worthy goal. The framework could be utilized as a tool in

professional development and for deliberation by faculties and others engaged in site-initiated school change (e.g., site-based-decision-making groups, school-improvement teams, community councils). We have identified a wide range of dilemmas and categorized them in gross fashion. Further research is needed to confirm or refute the universality of these issues and to create a manageable framework for reflection by practitioners and educational stakeholders.

We believe that positive change in education requires that we forego simplistic linear problem solving ways of thinking and that we develop a manner of thinking about education which acknowledges, examines, and manages the numerous and recurrent dilemmas inherent in educational policy and practice. We may not end in "certainties," but we will surely devise more satisfactory ways of dealing with complex and intractable situations. Larry Cuban articulated our beliefs in his presidential address at the AERA meeting in 1991:

> In a can-do culture, a pervasive sense of guilt often haunts practitioners, professors, and policymakers who face recurring, insoluble situations and repeatedly fail to "solve" the "problem." Repeated failures of highly touted solutions leave a debris of disappointment, even cynicism, among well-intentioned educators. To distinguish between problems that can be solved and dilemmas that require "satisficing" can reduce guilt. We can pursue ways of reframing those dilemmas to get unstuck from familiar "solutions" and create better compromises and more elegant tightrope walks. Reframing and managing dilemmas are art forms, filled with doubt but at least free of corrosive guilt. (Cuban, 1991, pp 7-8)

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Table 1

Frequency of Mention and Globalness of Issues of Importance

Issues of Importance	Frequency of Mention	Globalness
Instruction, Classroom- & School-Wide	451	26
Climate of School for Students	414	26
Individual/Faculty; Isolation/Collaboration	344	26
Curriculum	287	24
Emotional Cycle of Change	269	24
Decisionmaking Structures and Processes	243	26
State/Local/National Responsibility	227	25
Staff Development	224	24
Professional Community beyond School	193	26
Parent Involvement/Role/Control	189	23
Principal Role/Control	184	24
Internal/External Expertise	170	23
Knowledge Base	170	26
Internal/External Control of Change	158	25
Evaluation of Change; Action Research	155	23
Money	146	24
Communication within the School	141	24
Voice and Empowerment	130	26
Pace and Amount of Change	124	24
Continuity/Discontinuity of Personnel	114	21
Vision, Goals, Direction	113	22

Table 1 (Cont'd)

Issues of Importance	Frequency of Mention	Globalness
Community and Business Involvement	113	21
Public Relations	86	20
Teacher Leadership	84	23
Time	54	16
Association, Contracts	52	16
External Visitors	44	15
Managing/Doing	42	16
Votes for MIL	39	18
Student Achievement/Assessment	38	14
Integration/Separation of Projects	31	14
Pressure/Support	30	16
Teacher Development/Student Empowerment	28	14
Tinkering/Restructuring	18	5
Staff (non-teaching) Role	8	6

Notes.

Frequency = the number of times the issue was mentioned.

Globalness = the number of schools in which the issue was mentioned.

Table 2

Frequency, Globalness, and Percentage of Disruptions

Issue	Frequency	Globalness	%
Instruction, Classroom- & School-Wide	22	12	05
Climate of School for Students	20	12	05
Individual/Faculty;Isolation/Collab	70	20	20
Curriculum	11	8	04
Emotional Cycle of Change	92	23	34
Decisionmaking Structures and Process	28	12	12
State/Local/National Responsibility	3	3	01
Staff Development	5	4	02
Professional Community beyond School	6	5	03
Parent Involvement/Role/Control	13	11	07
Principal Role/Control	77	17	42
Internal/External Expertise	28	14	16
Knowledge Base	4	4	02
Internal/External Control	54	20	34
Evaluation of Change; Action Research	8	4	05
Money	29	10	20
Communication within the School	26	15	18
Voice and Empowerment	21	13	16
Pace and Amount of Change	52	17	42
Continuity/Discontinuity of Personnel	62	17	54
Vision, Goals, Direction	17	9	15

Table 2 (Cont'd)

Issue	Frequency	Globalness	%
Community and Business Involvement	23	14	24
Public Relations	1	1	01
Teacher Leadership	22	16	26
Time	20	9	37
Association, Contracts	12	3	23
External Visitors	0	0	00
Managing/Doing	2	2	05
Votes for MIL	8	4	21
Student Achievement/Assessment	5	4	13
Integration/Separation of Projects	5	4	16
Pressure/Support	7	7	23
Teacher Development/Student Empowerment	4	4	14
Tinkering/Restructuring	0	0	00
Staff (non-teaching) Role	1	1	13

Notes.

Frequency = the number of times the issue was disruptive.

Globalness = the number of schools in which the issue was disruptive.

Percentage = the percent of times the issue was disruptive (ratio between Frequency of Issues and Frequency of Disruptions

Table 3

Personal Learnings

	Interviewees		Sites		Principals	
Category	n	%	n	%	n	%
Collaboration	41	36	21	81	8	33
New roles	48	42	20	77	12	50
Decision making	22	19	17	65	16	67
Disagreement & Conflict	22	19	17	65	4	17
Change Process	29	26	17	65	7	29
Efficacy	55	49	21	81	6	25
Reward	37	33	19	73	6	25
Attitudes for change	52	46	23	88	7	29
Knowledge Base	53	47	23	88	11	46

Notes.

Interviewees N=113; Sites N=26; Principals N=24

Frequencies are tabulated for participants as a whole, by site (analogous to the globalness descriptor in the previous analysis), and by principal (in one case, a central office administrator who had worked as the site consultant). It should be noted again that these tables represent frequencies of mention from open-ended questions. As such, responses represent the most significant learnings from the standpoint of the respondents.

Table 4

Learnings/Advice for Others

	Interviewees		Sites		Principals	
Category	n	%	n	%	n	%
Faculty collaboration	95	84	26	100	20	83
Leadership & authority	48	42	26	100	12	50
Decision making	52	46	25	96	19	79
Disagreement & conflict	53	47	23	88	11	46
Change process	72	64	25	96	18	75
Efficacy	71	63	24	92	9	38
Ups & downs	46	41	22	85	6	25
Attitudes of openness	76	67	24	92	16	67
Knowledge base	69	61	24	92	14	58

Notes.

Interviewees N=113; Sites N=26; Principals N=24

Frequencies are tabulated for participants as a whole, by site (analogous to the globalness descriptor in the previous analysis), and by principal (in one case, a central office administrator who had worked as the site consultant). It should be noted again that these tables represent frequencies of mention from open-ended questions. As such, responses represent the most significant learnings from the standpoint of the respondents.

FIGURE 1: DILEMMAS EXPRESSED BY MIL PARTICIPANTS

Nature of Change

individual initiatives VS faculty initiatives
imposed VS organic
small changes ("tinkering') VS restructuring
low risk (practical) VS risk-taking
easy VS difficult
constant activity/progress VS periods of high activity & slumps
quick pace/impatience VS slow pace/patience
immediately visible VS subtle, foundational, less visible
cyclical (going nowhere) VS spiral (forward progress)
realism VS optimism

Focus of Change

vision as constant, driving VS vision/goals as evolving, flexible
school-wide VS classroom
role of school: academic VS whole child
relation of school to society: mirror VS disjoint VS model
curriculum: coverage VS mastery
equality of opportunity for students VS equality of experiences
empowerment for whom: students VS teachers VS administrators VS parents? VS all?
process VS product
teacher/school focus VS student focus
process VS content VS people
to/for students VS with students
showcase (narrow impact) VS systemic
focus VS fragmentation

Shared Decision Making

goal: philosophical unity VS philosophical eclecticism
consensus VS majority VS authority
spheres: negotiated VS given
structures: traditional (given) VS flexible or evolving
roles: who participates?
parents: client VS participant
empowerment VS power
participation: volunteers VS all interested VS all representatives VS full group
being informed VS participating
buy-in: surface agreement VS commitment
some VS all
efficiency, closure VS time for full buy-in

FIGURE 1 (cont'd)

Influences for Change (including Barriers and Supports)

- time as fixed VS time as flexible
- diversity as obstacle VS opportunity
- expertise (e.g., consultants):
  - internal VS external
  - neutral VS aligned
  - observer VS participant
- discontinuity of personnel:
  - project/culture as "journey" VS describable
  - change as temporal VS permanent
- change projects:
  - separate entities VS part of culture
  - external support VS external control
  - resources as enablers VS inhibitors
- multiple change initiatives:
  - integration VS separation
  - who/which gets credit?
- conferences, training sessions:
  - representation VS full involvement
  - taking turns VS regulars
- unions as allies VS adversaries in shared decision making
- contracts:
  - restrictions VS opportunities
- salaries VS programs, kids
- central office:
  - control: external VS internal (school level)
  - pressure: sameness VS uniqueness (school level)
  - schools as individualistic VS functional VS bureaucratic
  - support: school level expectation VS determination to generate
- momentum for restructuring:
  - external (project or district) VS internal (school)

Response to Conflict/Dips in Progress

- conflict: acknowledging VS smoothing
  confrontation & management VS ignoring
- disagreement: sign of disfunction VS normal and healthy
  taken personally VS norm of professional collegiality
- barriers as disabling VS challenge
- compromise as co-opting VS incremental progress
- caretaking (process) as progression VS regression

FIGURE 1 (Cont'd)

Teacher/Faculty Role

personal style:
teachers as unique VS teachers as homogeneous group
energetic/open VS tired/skeptical
jumpers VS observers
autonomous VS functional VS bureaucratic
accountability: teachers/faculty as functionaries VS autonomous professionals
teacher as individual VS colleague/faculty member
empowerment: individual VS collective
locus of leadership and decision making: classroom VS classroom and beyond
teaching as job VS teaching as profession
motivation to participate: extrinsic (pay, time off...) VS intrinsic
risk-taking VS job security

Faculty Leadership

styles:
people VS process
doing/directing VS facilitating/inspiring
goal-driven VS flexible
maintaining change:
charismatic presence VS initiator and fading presence
continuous VS rotating
leadership by teachers VS teaching as a "flat" organization
leadership by talent/function VS position
formal (often paid) VS informal, emerging

Principal Role

equality of decision making role by participants VS separate spheres for participants

decisions as administrative prerogative VS negotiated
leader VS colleague (or both)
authority/referee VS facilitator/inspirer
primary allegiance to superintendent's reform initiatives VS school-level reform initiatives
principal VS teacher group (principal exclusion)
shared decision making:
losing power VS sharing power VS gaining power

Knowledge Issues

bandwagon VS exploration of options
knowledge as molecular VS holistic
expertise as internal VS external

FIGURE 1 (Cont'd)

Documentation & Evaluation

defining the good school: stakeholder contentment VS
critical socio-ethical standards
data valued: (What counts and who decides?)
internally established VS externally established
"soft" VS "hard"
process documentation VS achievement outcomes
short term evidence VS long-term evidence of progress
externally-oriented "showpiece" VS internally functional
feedback
achievement VS conditions for students
recognition/credit VS intrinsic satisfaction

APPENDIX A

DILEMMAS OF SCHOOLING

(from Berlak & Berlak, 1981)

Control Set

1. 'Whole' child versus child as student (realms)
2. Teacher versus child control of time
3. Teacher versus child control of operations
4. Teacher versus child control of standards

Curriculum Set

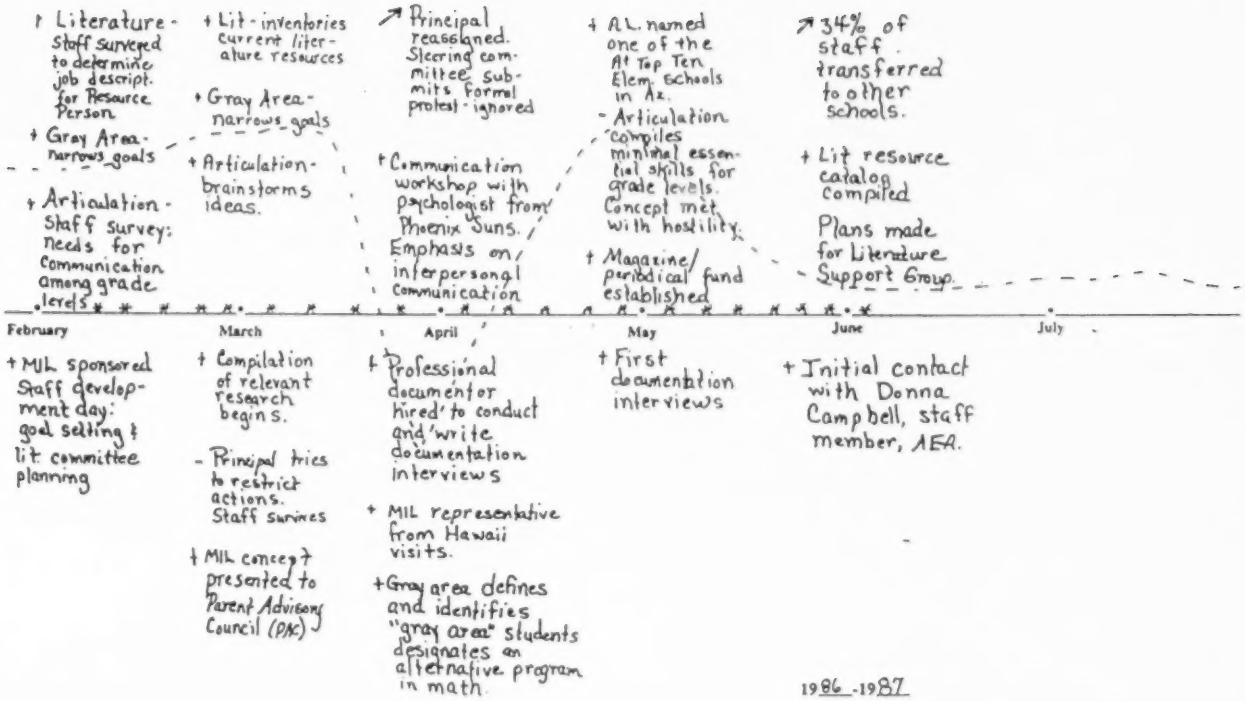
5. Personal knowledge versus public knowledge
6. Knowledge as content versus knowledge as process
7. Knowledge as given versus knowledge as problematical
8. Learning as holistic versus learning as molecular
9. Intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation
10. Each child unique versus children have shared characteristics
11. Learning is individual versus learning is social
12. Child as person versus child as client

Societal Set

13. Childhood as continuous versus childhood as unique
14. Equal allocation of resources versus differential allocation
15. Equal justice under the law versus ad hoc application of rules
16. Common culture versus sub-group consciousness

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE TIMELINE PAGE


+ Literature - Staff surveyed to determine job descript. for Resource Person
+ Gray Area - narrows goals
+ Articulation - Staff survey: needs for Communication among grade levels
+ Lit - inventories current literature resources
+ Gray Area - narrows goals
+ Articulation - brainstorms ideas.
↗ Principal reassigned. Steering committee submits formal protest - ignored
+ Communication workshop with psychologist from Phoenix Suns. Emphasis on interpersonal communication
+ AL named one of the At Top Ten Elem. Schools in Az.
- Articulation compiles minimal essential skills for grade levels. Concept met with hostility.
+ Magazine/periodical fund established
↗ 34% of staff transferred to other schools.
+ Lit resource catalog compiled
Plans made for Literature - Support Group
February
March
April
May
June
July
+ MIL sponsored Staff development day: goal setting & lit committee planning
+ Compilation of relevant research begins.
- Principal tries to restrict actions. Staff survives
+ MIL concept presented to Parent Advisory Council (PAC)
+ Professional documentor hired to conduct and write documentation interviews
+ MIL representative from Hawaii visits.
+ Gray area defines and identifies "gray area" students designates an alternative program in math.
+ First documentation interviews
+ Initial contact with Donna Campbell, staff member, AEA.
1986-1987

APPENDIX C

END-OF-PROJECT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. TIMELINE--Does this timeline ring true for you?

2. IMPACT--(a) How has your school changed from the way it was when your faculty joined MIL? (b) What was the role of the faculty's school renewal activities on those changes?

3. INSTITUTIONALIZATION--What aspects of faculty-initiated involvement in school improvement would be likely to continue at your school?

4. LEARNINGS/ADVICE--Based on your school's MIL experience, what do you feel you have learned as a faculty that needs to be shared with your professional colleagues across the nation who are initiating or continuing school improvement/restructuring work?

5. LEARNINGS/ADVICE--Based on your personal experience with faculty decision making, faculty-led school renewal, and/or MIL, what have you learned about yourself?

6. LEADERSHIP--Did any new leaders emerge in your school?

7. LEADERSHIP--How has leadership been shared among administration and faculty, and between faculty members?

8. LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT--On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 meaning special interest group; 5 meaning full-faculty including administration) how would you rank your faculty's involvement in MIL? Why?

9. LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT--Estimate the level of faculty "buy-in" now. How does this translate into active involvement? How has the level of active involvement changed over time?

10. KNOWLEDGE BASE--A foundational MIL principle is the importance of informed decision making. . . . Do you believe your faculty has internalized this principle?

11. KNOWLEDGE BASE--Has your faculty's work been influenced by information received over the computer network?

12. KNOWLEDGE BASE--Have you personally used the computer network?

13. CLOSURE--Is there anything you believe important to add?

INTERVIEWER IMPRESSIONS/REFLECTIONS -- PARTICIPANTS

INTERVIEWER IMPRESSIONS/REFLECTIONS -- OVERALL